1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[590] 623 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kaore* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *ika ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *ika ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

On achieving sociological adulthood (*makutanu, makuwawine*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum talo-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

The *uwa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sublineages each of which is called a *kainanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uwa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uwa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wa* means the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *uwa* was discussed with informants on several different

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[124] 613 273 616 1 539

occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the tuae:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka lalei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau loa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wui ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kaveu, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a laua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tupua a lunga o te wenua. Koa nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.[1]

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te nila mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanei; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wouu,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo; mai te Mliotawaki, te atiolosa, te tiwitiwi, te yuma, te lauumui, te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaveu, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanei: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te polopolonunga,—te wui manu o welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wuanga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Peia oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tama tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wui ika mo te moana. Ko tama tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te nila mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanei; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wouu,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo; mai te Mliotawaki, te atiolosa, te tiwitiwi, te yuma, te lauumui, te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaveu, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanei: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te polopolonunga,—te wui manu o welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wuanga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Peia oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tama tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wui ika mo te moana. Ko tama tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Rutvettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *hliotawaki*, the *atiolosa*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yuma*, the *lauumui*, the *tau kokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *tuae* was given, the *tuae* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

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[1] The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

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539 Ko te tupuanga o te Wua Lulu: Me te uwa ko te wawine no loto mai ana te wua, e tupu mai ai te tangata. Wauau ai loa, tupu ai tangata. E wua ia no te Pukapuka. Pe ia oki na tama a Punga Momoto: e wua oki te mea ko tupu mai ai. Tupu loa te wua, ko te Wua Lulu.

As to the growth of the Wua Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called *wua*. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a *wua* also which grew from them. The *wua* grew, the Wua Lulu. (This included both the *wua* of Te Mango and the branch of the Tawola.)

Wauau ai na tama a Te Mango, a te tangata i lunga o te wenua nei: ko Te Lokie, e tamawine na Te Mango; ko Yeitae, ko te toe tamawine a Te Mango; e lua nunga na Te Mango. Wakatupu i a Lokie tona wuanga, tupu mai. Pela oki i a Yeitae.

The children of Te Mango, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lokie was a daughter of Te Mango; Yeitae, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mango. Lokie produced her offspring; they grew. Yeitae did the same.

Ko Te Tawola, koa wauau tamaliki Te Tawola: Ko Te Yelu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola. E lua na tama a Te Tawola, ko Te Yelu ma Te Manu. Pau ai na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na wauau o te wenua.

As to Te Tawola, Te Tawola bore children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tawola. The branch of Te Manu (the Bird) was another child of Te Tawola. There were two children of Te Tawola, Te Yelu and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the sea.

Ko na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na nana ki ngasta: Ko Te Kati, ko Pukapuka te toe, ko Malemu te toe, ko Te Lawala te toe. Ko te toe tama a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te toe, Kenakena. Ko te wauau a Kiole, wauau mai ai te tangata; pela oki te wauau a Kenakena, pela oki te wauau a Pukapuka, pela oki te wauau a Malemu, pela oki te wauau a Te Lawala. Koa wauau a latou tamaliki wolo ki lunga o te wenua. Koa wolo te tangata ki lunga o te wenua.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who hid inland, (that is) the Kati: Pukapuka was one, Malemu another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kenakena. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kenakena, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malemu, and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

613 279 539 616 Notz: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Mataliki were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version, not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the forms of their now transformed brothers and sisters and these names

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613 became the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an important social group.

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In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua 773 Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it 613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this 773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again sub- 616 divided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages 616 (*heinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups. Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*heinanga*, *momo*, or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Lolua c. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	d. Pukapuka e. Malemu f. Lawala g. Walawale
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Mango—Keinanga	h. Kava i. Lokie j. Yeitae
	4. Wua Tawola—Keinanga	k. Yalo l. Yelu m. Manu

Informants tended to visualize the matter in terms of a tree with spreading branches and limbs (fig. 53). The names of the sub-lineages as given in this figure represent a final decision by informants. Other lists, procured at an earlier period of field work, differ a little in the given names. A second list of lineages and sub-lineages, probably for a later date when some sub-lineages had died out or were displaced by other named groups, is given below. The first list is probably the classic list; the second is the grouping as some understand it today.

Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	c. Malemu d. Lawala e. Pukapuka
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Lulu—Keinanga	f. Mango g. Kava h. Lokie i. Yeitae j. Lakawanga
	4. Wua Layo or Yalo—Keinanga	k. Yelu l. Tawola m. Manu

An analysis of the lineage membership of 160 adults showed 89 members of the Wua Lulu, 69 of the Wua Kati, 1 of Layo, and 1 member of Yalo.

The individual who first gave his membership as Wua Layo, Keinanga Tawola, later gave his affiliation as Wua Lulu, Keinanga Kava. Sixteen who said they belong to Keinanga Lakawanga gave Lulu as their major maternal grouping; one member of Keinanga Lakawanga gave Yalo as his major maternal grouping; this last is either a mistake or else Wua Lulu is to be understood as moiety Lulu, which is more likely. The three persons who gave their grouping as Uila, Keinanga Kiole, are brothers and a sister; a third brother said he was a member of Wua Kati, Keinanga Kati. Kati was given as the major maternal grouping of 16 other members of the Keinanga Kiole: here again Kati must have the sense of moiety. The point to note, however, is that the large majority, 155 out of 160, gave as their true either Lulu or Kati, thus giving the very definite impression that these two groupings are still functioning in Pukapukan society as effective moiety groupings of the maternal lineages.

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Each of the 160 adults professed membership in one of 12 different sub-lineages (this excepting the person who gave a double identification, first, Layo, Tawola; then Lulu, Kava). The active sub-lineages in the moiety Lulu are: Mango, Lakawanga, Yelu, Kava, Yeitse, Lokie; those in the moiety Kati: Kiole, Pukapuka, Kenakena, Lawala, Kati. The relative numerical strength of the sub-lineages is: Kava (L) 36; Yelu (L) 24; Kati (K) 20; Kiole (K) 18; Lakawanga (L) 18; Pukapuka (K) 12; Kenakena (K) 11; Mango (L) 7; Lawala (K) 5; Yeitse (L) 4; Lokie (L) 4. The relative numerical strength of these sub-lineages might possibly be altered by adding in figures from Loto village, but, because there seems to be an equality in the village distributions of the sub-lineages, the relative strengths would not differ materially from the serial order given above.

Twenty individuals gave their affiliation as Kainanga Kati, Wua Kati, either because they did not know their sub-lineage and gave only their moiety, an unlikely matter, or else because some individuals claim descent through a major maternal lineage directly and not through any sub-lineage. When the smaller groups were formed by the breaking away of lineages, some individuals remained members of the original *wua* grouping, so that the four *wua* must be considered both as groupings of smaller sub-lineages and also as single lineages in their own right. This single *wua* descent is noted for both Kati and Mango in the above list of membership strength. No examples are on record for Tawola or Lulu, but doubtless they do occur also.

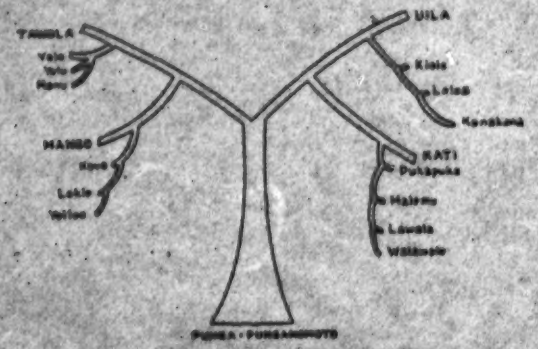

FIGURE 33.—Branching of maternal sub-lineages (*kekenga*), from informant's drawing. Main trunk of tree represents total population; main branches four main groupings of maternal lineages (*wua*); remaining smaller branches, individual sub-lineages.

The *wua* membership of the 38 heads of households in Ngake village was noted; 16 belong to the Lulu division, 20 to the Kati division. This shows a reasonable amount of moiety equality, and seems to indicate in fact that there is no tendency to either moiety or lineage localisation. This is presumably explained by the rule of patrilocal marital residence.

The internal organisation of each maternal lineage is simple. The head (*matutaulu* or *matalulu*) of the lineage is the oldest man or woman in the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *maole* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Pasasa Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wau Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the ovetoe and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of
582 one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai mole*, "house eating" or *kai*
684 *kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
176 of tapu, but the goddess Tuna or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Matalili or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

613 The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
616 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages,
582 the societies and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans.
171 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage. As long as there was one lineage in the *vaa*, the *vaa* was exogamous. When many sub-
616 lineages developed within the *vaa*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
[582] lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan
171 society.

The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests,
613 and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *vakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
226 a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
578 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
672 actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
696 commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
681 punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

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The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*mua aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *mua aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matoiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolungo* unit), maternal lineage (*uma* unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu'* *kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolungo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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period, organization was in terms of either *mua* or *yalonga* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*noho*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yalonga*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (1931:397), speaking of Vaikupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaikupu "was at a

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582 613 Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keinanga*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

● [616]

Table 9. Intermarriages Between Maternal Lineages*

		Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
		Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yeitae	Lokie	Kiole	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
	KEINANGA												
WUA LULU	Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
	Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	1	3	—
	Yeitae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lokie	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WUA KATI	Kiole	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
	Pukapuka	—	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
	Kenakena	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Kati	—	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—
	Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayai were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.